

Message Text

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15

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 IO-14 OMB-01 EUR-25 AF-10 ACDA-19 DRC-01 EB-11

COME-00 TRSE-00 FEA-02 AID-20 /190 W

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R 131601Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1840

INFO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEL AVIV 1500

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XF, IS

SUBJ: ALLON SPEECH ON ARAB-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS

1. DEP PRI MIN YIGAL ALLON, IN ADDRESS DELIVERED MARCH 12 IN CONJUNCTION WITH OPENING OF DAVIS INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, HEBREW UNIVERSITY, JERUSALEM, OFFERED ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT STATE OF ARAB-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS. EMBASSY SUMMARY OF OFFICIAL GOI TEXT FOLLOWS.

2. BEGIN SUMMARY. ALLON SAID THAT ISRAEL IS AT PRESENT INVOLVED IN A SITUATION WHICH IS MORE COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT THAN AT ANY TIME IN THE PAST. IN THE WAKE OF THE RECENT WAR, AND IN THE SHADOW OF HATRED WHICH PREVAILS IN WARTIME, WE SEE THE FIRST GLEAM OF DIALOGUE, AND PERHAPS EVEN A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

3. RECENT WAR HAS PROVED CORRECTNESS OF OLD AXIOM THAT ARAB ARMIES ARE INCAPABLE OF DESTROYING ISRAEL BY FORCE OF ARMS. ON OTHER HAND, ISRAEL DOES NOT POSSESS POLITICAL POWER UNILATERALLY TO IMPOSE PEACE CONDITIONS ON ARAB STATES, EVEN WHEN SHE GAINS MILITARY VICTORY AS IN YOM KIPPUR WAR. FROM THIS, IT IS EVIDENT THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF A POLITICAL SOLUTION, CONFIDENTIAL

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THERE WILL EITHER BE A DEADLOCK WHICH WILL PARALYZE THE CONSTRUCTIVE

MOVES OF THE PARTIES IN THE AREAS, OR THERE WILL BE A CONTINUOUS AND HORRIBLE CYCLE OF WARS.

4. AFTER REVIEWING BACKGROUND TO RECENT ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT, ALLON SAID QUOTE...EGYPT MAY REST ASSURED THAT NOT ONLY DOES ISRAEL HOLD NO AGGRESSIVE INTENTIONS TOWARDS HER, BUT SHE DOES NOT EVEN WISH TO ATTEMPT TO CONVERT THE PRESENT DEPLOYMENT OF MILITARY FORCES INTO A NEW FORM OF STATUS QUO THAT WOULD LEAD TO PERPETUATION OF THE PRESENT SITUATION. END QUOTE.

5. ALLON SAID THAT OVERALL SITUATION IS FAR FROM BEING STABLE AND FUTURE IS LADEN WITH DOUBTS. EXTREME ELEMENTS IN ARAB WORLD SEEK WAYS TO DISRUPT SITUATION PREVAILING IN EGYPTIAN FRONT. QUOTE...DAMASCUS REGIME, WHETHER DUE TO INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES, OR BECAUSE IT IS PLAYING MOSCOW'S GAME OR BOTH, MAY ATTEMPT TO UPSET THE POLITICAL MOVES TAKING PLACE AT THE SOUTHERN FRONT--AND PERHAPS ALSO ON THE EASTERN FRONT--BY MAKING ILLOGICAL, EXAGGERATED AND UNREALISTIC DEMANDS WHICH IN NO WAY REFLECT THE REAL OUTCOME OF THE RECENT WAR NOR DO THESE DEMANDS TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF ISRAEL. END QUOTE.

6. ON OIL ISSUE, ALLON SAID THAT ALL PARTIES INCLUDING ISRAEL DID NOT DEVOTE SUFFICIENT ATTENTION TO IT AS POLITICAL FACTOR. BLAME IS TO BE ATTRIBUTED MAINLY TO MONOPOLISTIC OIL COMPANIES. IMPRESSION THAT FATE OF ALL INDUSTRIAL POWERS LIES WITH OIL SUPPLIERS, HAS MADE ARAB LEADERS LIABLE TO LOSE THEIR SENSE OF JUDGMENT IN WAKE OF THEIR SUCCESSES AND SPEEDY SURRENDER TO BLACKMAIL. THIS IS NOT FIRST TIME THAT NATIONS OF EUROPE HAVE BEEN ENTRAPPED BY DISGRACE OF THEIR APPEASEMENT POLICIES. THEY TEND TO PLACE RESPONSIBILITY ON ISRAEL'S SO-CALLED INTRANSIGENCE, BUT ON WHOM CAN THEY PLACE BLAME FOR STEEP RISE IN OIL PRICES?

7. QUOTE...ISRAEL FACES SHORT-TERM POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES BECAUSE OF THE OIL ISSUE. HOWEVER, I FEEL OBLIGED TO MAKE IT CLEAR TO ALL OUR FRIENDS IN THE WORLD THAT WE WILL NOT AGREE TO BE VICTIM OF APPEASEMENT, WHATEVER FORM IT MAY TAKE, OR FROM WHATEVER DIRECTION IT MAY COME.
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...OUR READINESS TO MAKE HONEST TERRITORIAL COMPROMISES, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF PEACE, IS IN NO WAY CONNECTED WITH THE OIL ISSUE, AND IS NOT BROUGHT ABOUT BY ANY EXTERNAL PRESSURE WHATSOEVER. THIS READINESS IS THE FRUIT OF POLITICAL RECOGNITION AND A SENSE OF JUSTICE WHICH GUIDES US IN OUR POLICIES. IT THEREFORE BEHOVES THE FRIENDS OF THE ARABS-- PARTICULARLY WHEN THEY ARE THE FRIENDS OF BOTH PARTIES--TO EXERT THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE ARAB CAPITALS AND GET THEM TO ADOPT

MORE SOBER, REALISTIC AND LONG-RANGE POLICIES. EXTREME DEMANDS MADE OF ISRAEL WILL ONLY SERVE TO DRIVE US INTO A STUBBORN CORNER, WHICH WILL NOT LEAD TO ANY ARRANGEMENT AND SOLUTION. PUSHING US INTO A CORNER, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, WILL AROUSE PUBLIC OPINION AGAINST THE APPEASING GOVERNMENTS. IN MANY CASES THE PUBLIC IS MORE COURAGEOUS, MORE ENLIGHTENED AND WISER THAN THEIR GOVERNMENTS. END QUOTE.

8. TIMETABLE OF NEXT STEPS SHOULD BE (A) AGREEMENT WITH SYRIA ON DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES, (B) INTERIM AGREEMENT WITH JORDAN IF POSSIBLE, AND (C) RENEWAL OF PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH EGYPT, JORDAN AND SYRIA, IN THIS ORDER OR IN ANY OTHER ORDER WHICH CIRCUMSTANCES MAY DICTATE.

9. ALLON ADDED THAT RENEWAL SYRIAN MILITARY ACTION WILL NOT ENDANGER ISRAELI SECURITY BUT WITHOUT DOUBT WILL JEOPARDIZE POSSIBILITY OF BRINGING ABOUT SEPARATION OF FORCES. END SUMMARY

10. COMMENT: I CONSIDER ALLON'S SPEECH, DELIVERED AT FESTIVE OPENING CEREMONIES FOR HEBREW UNIVERSITY'S NEW INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS CENTER AT WHICH I WAS PRESENT, TO HAVE BEEN SINGULARLY INAPPROPRIATE. ALLON READ FROM A PREPARED TEXT, SCARCELY LOOKING UP AT HIS AUDIENCE LEANING HEAVILY ON THE LECTERN AND SPEAKING IN A BELLIGERENT TONE WITH A SEVERE EXPRESSION THROUGHOUT. AT THAT POINT IN THE TEXT WHERE HE SAID THAT THOSE WHO ARE THE FRIENDS OF BOTH PARTIES SHOULD EXERT THEIR INFLUENCE ON ARABS TO MAKE THEM ADOPT MORE SOBER AND REALISTIC POLICIES, HE INTERRUPTED THE TEXT AND, LOOKING DIRECTLY AND POINTING HIS FINGER AT ME, SAID, "I HOPE YOU ARE LISTENING, MR AMBASSADOR." I GLARED AT HIM STONILY. THE SPEECH DID NOT RECEIVE AN ENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE FROM THE AUDIENCE, AND PEOPLE WITH WHOM I SPOKE

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AFTERWARDS MENTIONED ITS UNSUITABILITY. MY IMPRESSION IS THAT, AFTER DAYAN'S APPEARANCE THE DAY BEFORE IN SAME FORUM WHICH HAD WIDE COVERAGE. ALLON WAS TRYING TO GRAB SOME HEADLINES FOR HIMSELF. INSTEAD HE GOT ONLY SECONDARY COVERAGE IN TODAY'S AFTERNOON PRESS.

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